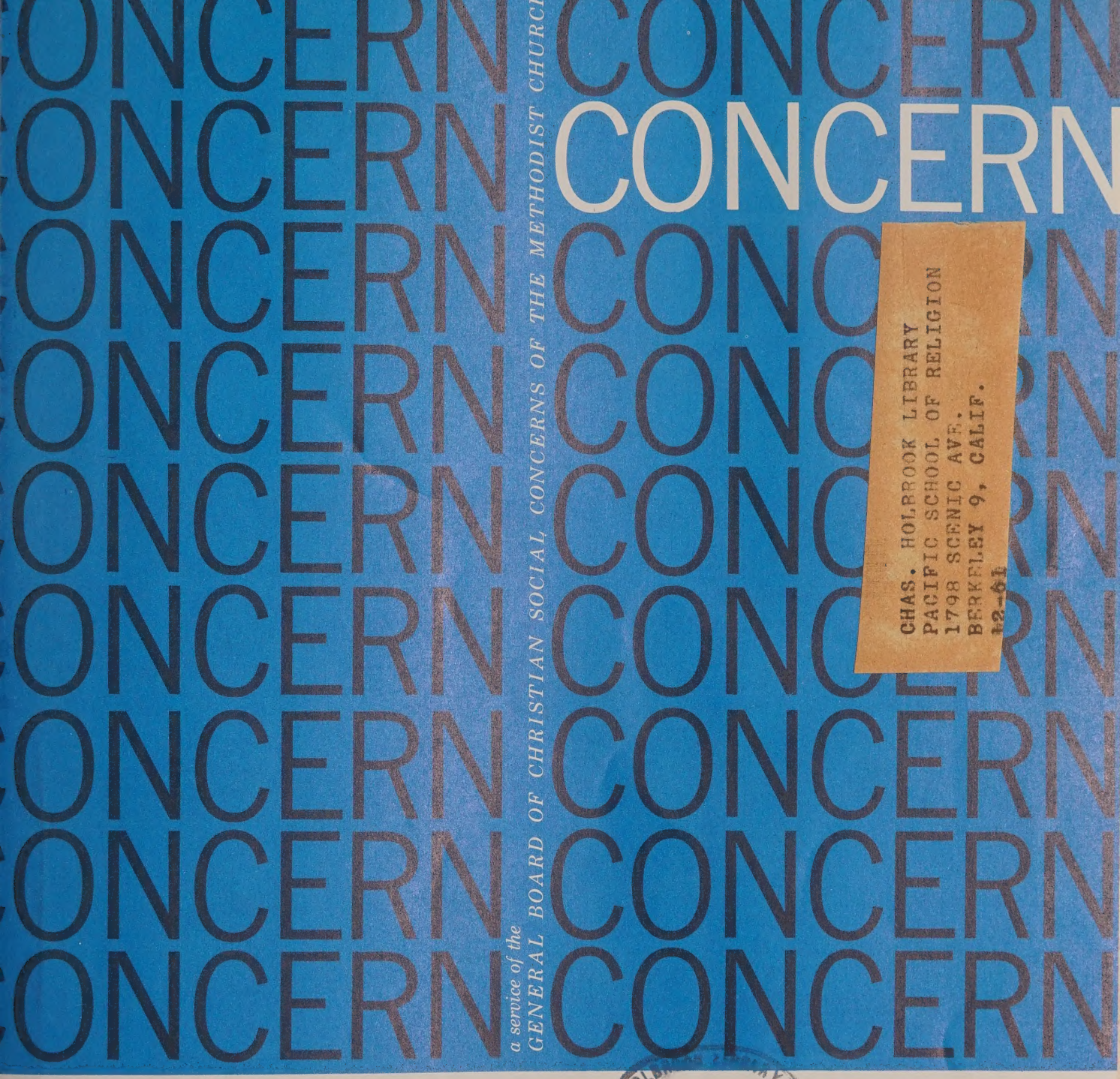

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June 15, 1961

Recently "right wing extremists" have puzzled church leaders. At first extreme conservatives were discounted as inconsequential. But now discussions have frequently taken on an air of fear and urgency.

In a democratic nation one should plan to find both "lefts" (persons who favor adjustments in social, political or economic structures) and "rights" (persons who believe everything ought to remain as it is). The constructive interchange between them has made democracy work. But today's rights are "extremists." They label everyone who does not agree with them as communists, which seems to be their ultimate negative epithet.

Regular *Concern* readers will have noticed criticism of several conservative groups. In this special issue on the right wing movement, an article by John Swomley titled **The Right Wing Extremists** helps to explain the factual basis for that criticism.

A second article **Truth and Freedom** by Tyler Thompson includes political and ideological bases for concern. **Christianity and Communism** by the editor of *Concern* discusses the relationship between the Christian faith and the communist ideology. A concluding article by A. Dudley Ward offers suggestions for Christian action on these issues, while the General Secretary, in his regular column, discusses the issues. Extra copies are 25 cents each.

CONCERN

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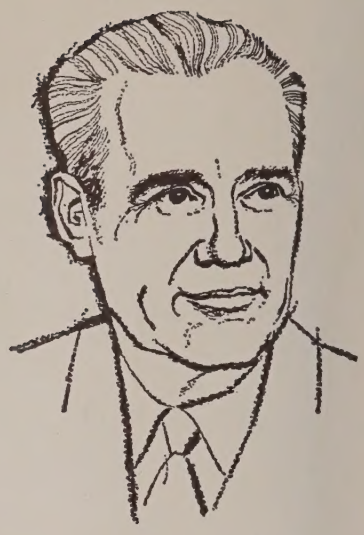

Christianity—the hope of liberty!

Do you ever know what you really think until your position is challenged? Our success as leaders depends upon knowledge and power; wisdom that is inspired by people who successfully grapple with problems; power that comes from faith in and obedience to God's plan for our lives!

Great leaders challenge each individual to think for himself and act through love. Mediocre rabble-rousers expect people to do as they are told.

Some would deny to the church any right to educate for social action, and would use the state for the enforcement of their personal prejudices. Isolationist legislation and totalitarian procedures would be their gimmics for social independence and national security.

Freedom can never be as easily won or enjoyed as the welshers would have us believe. It is not as merchantable as the liquid gas advertised at a Worcester station, where the deceptive sign reads, "Limp in—leap out!" Churches that employ the Bircher's technique will soon have nothing left but their bark.

If the church is not in trouble, it is a displaced institution. But churchmen need not bring upon themselves unnecessary burdens, the kind that come from lack of understanding and absence of faith.

Sound Protestantism

Conscientious Christians are sometimes involved in projects whose purposes are good but whose methods are inadequate. Good people are caught today with only one alternative to impossible "leftism" and uninformed "rightism." That option is sound Protestantism.

We have no patience with the idea that Marxian communism is a solution for any of the world's existing problems. Perhaps we have too long assumed that every honest citizen should know that Protestant churches are incurably opposed to this anti-Christian ideology and athiestic way of life.

But we have equal antipathy for fascism, nazism, McCarthyism, or any other version of totalitarianism that threatens the freedom of mankind. Our chief emphasis is, has been and ever shall be upon the superior and indispensable merits of unbridled Christianity! This is our hope of liberty in complex human life. There is no danger here from the "menace of the authoritarian mind." True liberty involves freedom to worship, to think and help think, the supremacy of conscious, and the "benevolent separation" of church and state. "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."

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CHRISTIANITY and COMMUNISM

by Donald Kuhn

How does a Christian view communism? Many volumes have been written in answer to this question. This article is not designed to summarize these books. Rather, it lifts again some of the contrasts between Christianity and communism which have a bearing on the current right wing scare within the church. (Note: Christianity and Americanism are not interpreted herein as synonymous.)

Concern takes as its policy the statement of the 1960 General Conference of The Methodist Church that: "The Christian religion stands in direct opposition to materialistic ideologies" because "these ideologies, with their disregard for human rights, their scorn for the dignity of the individual, and their failure to acknowledge the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, are abhorrent to basic Christian principles."

Communism as formulated by Marx, Lenin, and Stalin is such a materialistic ideology and the Church stands in opposition to it. Many writers have commented that "the American way of life" is also materialistic at many points. If this is true, and there are many signs of materialism within the United States, then the Church is against this ideology also.

While the Church by its very nature is in conflict with communism, mere opposition is not enough. The Church needs to define for its members ways in which Christian beliefs differ from the communist viewpoint.

Christians start with the affirmation that god is God, and the god who is God is revealed to us in the person of Jesus Christ. They respond to God in faith and this faith, based on the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ determines what is right and what is wrong. It gives us a criterion by which personal deeds and group decisions may be judged. Finally, there is no room for any other god.

For Christians the key to their relationship to communism is in their answer to the question, "Who is God?" This question is asked of materialists whether they live in the USSR or in the U.S.A. In the last issue of *Concern*, Charles Malik asked the same question of communists in another way. "Tell us please, what is the object of your ultimate worship? Is it the *theory* of dialectical materialism? Is it *atoms in motion?* Is it *force and revolution?* Is it the satisfaction of your bodily and mental desires? Is it the *Communist* Party? Is it *Marx* or *Lenin?*"

If the communist claims any of these as his god, he has rested his faith on very limited and inadequate grounds. When he bases his life on the process of dialectical materialism as his final hope, he is doomed to disappointment. To make a supreme principle out of a purely historical process can result only in personal frustration and loneliness in the long run.

Too small a god

The Marxist's god is not big enough. The theory of the inevitable triumph of communism may help him face life and death with less fear and may hold his society together. But it cannot save him from his alienation from the ruling Spirit of the universe and from estrangement from other individuals. If he claims that economic relationships are finally decisive in all areas of life, he sets his sights toward a life void of inner joy and power.

To all men including communists, Christians proclaim Christ as the

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Lord of Life and the Hope of the universe. God himself convicts his children of their sins of false faiths as he forgives them into new life. Jesus Christ is Lord and commitment of any thing less can only be sin.

What holds value?

When the individual—Christian or communist—has accepted his God, another question faces him. What does God say is important? Or what holds high value? Christians and communists answer this question in different ways.

For the Marxist, mass human welfare expressed at the material level is a primary value, economic equality for all men is a basic goal and consequently a function of government. The communist dreams of a classless society and classless means for him economic equality. Government is undesirable but necessary as a temporary means of reaching the goal of classless society.

For communists, their system is not only superior to all others, it will ultimately consume all other systems. When they believe World Communism is inevitable, they also believe that there is much they can do to accelerate its triumph. This does not exhaust the list of things which communists hold as important.

Persons do matter

In contrast, Chrisians believe that man's love and worship of God is most important. Love of all God's children is inseparably linked to man's love of God. So what happens to persons matters.

With our Jewish forebearers, Christians believe that God is just and wills that justice shall reign among men. Followers of Christ accept justice as a necessary expression of love. Human political society is an instrument for maintaining justice. So government has almost always been supported by Christians. Through government, they seek to expand the freedoms of the individual so that he can respond to God's love in many more ways.

Christians now place high value on freedom of religion and other freedoms closely related to it—freedom of speech, press, and assembly.

All of these political concerns have emerged from Jesus' basic command for us to love our neighbors as ourselves and the belief that each person is given the power to become a child of God. On these points and others, Christians and communists disagree as to what is important, as to what has value.

Right wing extremists seem only to see communism as a corporate-power-threat. They fear Russia's ruthless use of military power as seen in Hungary and they see the dangers of communism to America's privileged economic position.

These graphic surface features among others arouse right wing extremists to frantic activity. They are not alone in sensing the existence of a grave danger. Ruthless military force and economic tyranny are obvious threats to all men who believe in any form of political or economic freedom. But Christians should see beyond these surface threats to powerful ideas that are more dangerous than brute force or loss of wealth. Christians see communists promising bread to hungry peoples who may choose bread in their hunger but will die in slavery. Christians see half-truths that capture men's minds because no one else offers them whole truths.

The struggle is for the allegiance of men's mind. Specific political and economic structures will come and go. They have in the past. And ideas have the power to cause them to remain or to disappear or to change peacefully.

Christianity offers a way of life to the world which meets the personal needs of each individual. It also provides a perspective from which social, economic and political systems fulfill their purposes. Christians not only feed the hungry; they want to help each person to see his work as a calling from God. They fight for economic justice under freedom. They preach whole truths that give life.

A difference of means

Another question separates the Christian ethic from the communist means. How should men achieve goals and fulfill values? Communist theory permits the use of any method. It advocates the use of force, revolution, and the "reign of terror." If social goods justify the use of any relevant means, what does this imply for personal relationships? May not one individual be used ruthlessly by another in order to further the status of the latter? Surely such arbitrary use of power must undermine interpersonal relations.

For Christians all power is God's power and is to be used as a trust for his purposes. While Christians support government, they oppose the arbitrary use of force and repudiate war as a way of solving international issues. They seek peaceful ways to overcome differences.

Christians lift a Cross above the world which diminishes differences as it establishes a unique kind of equality—equality in sin and equality in grace. In the worship of a common Father, community is established. And in such community communication may overcome deeply entrenched prejudices.

Communists say that what happens to individuals now doesn't matter, for in the future people will be happier in a classless society where all men are equal and all material needs may be met. But for Christians, whether an act is right or wrong depends on what it does to persons

now. Eternity is now. God makes his love known to his children through the acts of their brothers and through the group decisions.

On the question of method God stands in judgment over all groups. While the Church and some extremists would agree as to who God is and some of the values that are important, they differ at the point of means. Many right wing extremists tend to destroy the basic trust that flows from faith in God. They appear to delight in creating a climate of fear and suspicion.

A minister recently asked us to prepare a list of people to avoid because of their past associations. He asked, "How do I know that some of the members of my church are not communists?" When fear penetrates the institutional church which starts with the affirmation that we love God more than all else, then people everywhere are in trouble. Right wing extremists promote this kind of trouble among people who tend to be insecure and seek security in some external source.

The atmosphere of distrust of persons which permeates communism and many right wing groups disturbs Christians. Unreasoning doubt can only lead to suspicion of friends and family, to the discarding of moral values and finally to an authoritarian political system. The end result of much right wing extremist activity is to create the very conditions favorable to the growth of totalitarianism.

Faith leads to trust

In contrast, the Christian trusts others because he has been trusted by God. Faith in God leads to trusting others, though that trust at times may be misplaced. Together the members of the church study the scriptures and face their own deficiencies in an attitude of worship. Out of worship comes mutual respect, warm fellowship, and a sense of individual responsibility. Christians who really believe that God is sufficient for every situation will spend their time communicating the same basic concern

for people as revealed by Jesus. The love of God in the Christian community dispels fear and builds the strongest bulwark against communism that can be envisioned.

Further, Christians foster constructive changes which will help society to meet human need instead of fighting to maintain social, economic, and political structures that have ceased to function adequately. We live in a society where technological change is a supreme value and where the population is rapidly expanding. Drastic changes in social, economic, and political structures seem sure to follow.

Instead of blindly holding on to old forms, members of the body of Christ ought to work in such a way that the changes that do take place will meet human need, expand individual freedoms, foster individual responsibility, facilitate communication, and build community.

God stands in judgment over the actions of each individual and each group, be it the John Birch Society, the Board of Christian Social Concerns of The Methodist Church, the United States government, or the PTA. Thus far, there has not emerged any human institution which can be called the kingdom of God on earth. All human systems are subject to human sin and need to be transformed. An essential part of the Christian gospel is that things don't have to stay as they are. God in Christ is at work redeeming the world.

Christian power and communism

The May issue of the Los Angeles Area News Edition of Together *magazine carried an article by Bishop Gerald Kennedy titled "Christian Power and Communism." Here are some very brief excerpts from that article:*

Ever since communism became a world power and a threat to freedom and democracy, we have spent nearly all our time on the defensive. We hardly ever attack; we only feebly counterattack. We are clear enough as to what we are against, although even here we have given the impression that there is no consistency in our opposition. We have sometimes championed evil because it pretended to be anti-communist, while we have ignored our friends whose ways are not exactly ours.

Having failed utterly to infiltrate American churches, it (communism) will try to sow distrust and suspicion within them. Like every tyranny, it knows its chief enemy. I do not say that every man who tries to smear church leaders with rumors and gossip is a communist dupe and is bringing comfort to the cause. The kind of man who brands another subversive because of different political and economic ideas has been corrupted by the Moscow spirit. Such men are sad specimens of successful communist infiltration and destruction.

This battle will be won or lost according to the power of our faith and our commitment to the Christian principles of life. What do we believe? What do we affirm? What is our answer to communism's promises and poison? There are three main things to say:

1) We believe in the God of the Bible.

2) We believe in man. When men believe in God, they believe in themselves, and when they have a sense of their own worth, they do not easily bend under a yoke.

3) We believe in freedom. That is what the whole world revolution is

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Truth and Freedom

by Tyler Thompson

Professor, Philosophy of Religion
Garrett Biblical Institute

The Christian is one convinced that a full revelation of God has come in Christ. This means that the most important truth man can know—the saving truth—is found in the birth, life, teachings, death, and resurrection of the Lord.

But men are free to reject or ignore this truth. It is easy to find those who do. On the other hand it is quite impossible to *prove* that the truth is in Christ, or coerce a resistant one into accepting it. It must be embraced in faith. And this because of God's intention. Men are justified by faith. In the things that matter most, God has denied to men that absolute theoretical certainty which all men are tempted to long for. Whenever men think they have found that kind of security, behold, they are worshipping an idol!

God's intention would appear to be that man seek truth in freedom. Several things follow. No man can ever be properly trusted with absolute authority over another in ultimate matters. In matters of less import such authority is dangerous and contrary to the best growth of responsible men. Freedom is both an opportunity and a responsibility.

A political application

These principles have many areas of application. One is political meaning. God has called men into his service under all kinds of political orders—including those under which martyrdom followed almost automatically. But this does not mean that political order is a matter of indifference to God. The considerations already given indicate that he intends some form of liberal society. (The word is here used in the sense indicated by its derivation from the Latin word for free.)

No effort will be made to suggest that our American society is God's final word to men. But this heritage is related to his intentions in such a way as to lay upon this nation a special stewardship. It is a gift for

which the nation should be grateful to him.

Americans often speak with pride of their heritage. It includes many things, but on the political side nothing is more precious than the Constitution, with its justly-famous Bill of Rights. It charters a limited government whose duties and restrictions are explicitly set forth.

The liberties of individual citizens are safeguarded. "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances."

Citizens are protected—in their persons, houses, and possessions—from unreasonable search or seizure. They cannot "be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law."

This means that they cannot be held to answer for a crime without indictment. They cannot be put in double-jeopardy. They cannot be compelled to testify against themselves. Furthermore, when indicted, they are entitled to a speedy trial by jury.

They must be informed of the accusation against them, be confronted by accusing witnesses, have compulsory process for obtaining favorable witnesses, and be permitted the assistance of counsel. "Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted."

Neither a state nor the Federal government shall "deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law."

Underlying this charter, for every citizen, is the ground upon which he accepts and supports it. This may be an explicitly theological ground, with a Christian or a Jew who has reflected upon the matter. It may be a humanistic outlook. It may be a pragmatic acceptance of what seems to have worked out well, or a basis even more casual.

Constitution gives unity

Support for the Constitution, then, is a kind of theological (or ideological) united front among those who have different fundamental reasons for thinking that the Constitution is

a good thing. Not everyone in the population does regard it as a good thing.

But it is obvious to a believer that the wider the voluntary consensus of believers, the better off all are. Therefore any procedure which brings people to better understanding of their heritage and firmer acceptance of it is constructive.

Of course this way of treating this heritage of freedom is too abstract. It is not simply the Constitution *by itself* which safeguards liberties. It serves as the base for an elaborate network of federal, state, and local statutes, judicial precedents, administrative decisions, and public attitudes. These give force and reality to its provisions.

Congress and other legislative bodies have the responsibility of providing enabling legislation for various constitutional provisions—as well as enacting general laws.

The Constitution provides the criteria by which the courts judge any such legislation as is called in question. And these processes take place not in a vacuum. They take place within a certain climate of public opinion for which every citizen has responsibility.

This liberal society can never flow automatically from a heritage—and certainly not from a charter once given, however great. It will have reality only as it is given life by a people who value it and work to give it reality. Thus, every one bears responsibility for the maintenance of a free society.

But Americans have moved into a time when they cannot be left alone to work out their own destiny. World leadership has been thrust upon this nation, and its citizens cannot honorably escape it.

This brings the people of the United States into a contention with the communist power bloc in which they cannot hope for a favorable issue unless they concern themselves directly with the welfare and freedom of the uncommitted peoples—and more convincingly than they have done in the past.

Communism itself is like a religious movement, based upon dialectical materialism—a theory of reality leading to class struggle, economic determinism, and the final triumph of the proletariat. From the communist view-point this triumph is inevitable.

The goal by any means

Yet it is also the one true object of commitment, which justifies *any* means which will help bring it about. Clearly, this leads to a dictatorial, rather than a liberal, society. From the standpoint of the Christian, the Jew, or the western humanist the view is repulsive. It is also ridiculous. Then, why has it made such progress?

The answer is too complex to give in detail here. But the decisive gains of the movement have always been made in situations of revolutionary resentment against felt injustice. The communists have somehow managed to sell their movement as a "liberator" from poverty and oppression. Doubtless many of those thus "liberated" have regretted it before long.

But in a world where the preponderance of wealth is still controlled by a small minority, Americans must *feel and manifest* the kind of concern which will offer a more convincing promise of freedom and opportunity.

What does it come to? Americans have a great heritage, which depends upon each person for its continued lively exercise. This nation is now confronted with world responsibility far greater than any it has previously fulfilled. To meet it, Americans must find the inner resources to demonstrate the power of a free society to give constructive leadership for the achievement of a just and enduring peace.

False accusations destroy

On the other hand, nothing could be more destructive than to account for the progress of communism by false accusations of disloyalty against this country's own citizenry. In a striking example of this, a supporter of the John Birch Society said of the founder:

"All Welch wrote was tantamount to saying simply that our leaders in this country for the past 16 years and more have been acting as if they were out and out reds and traitors. Else how come the reds have ever been so successful in the cold war?"

A telling blow is dealt to the very basis of a liberal society by those who gratuitously charge their political opponents with disloyalty. Political discussion is part of a decision-making process. It has to be carried on within rules which take for granted some degree of mutual trust, or it begins to shake the foundations of the order itself.

This has happened in Europe—and all too often, in more limited degree, in our own life. If dislike of the proposals made by another leads one into attempts to discredit and destroy him instead of making and commending better proposals, both freedom and the pursuit of truth are victimized.

Because of the seriousness of the

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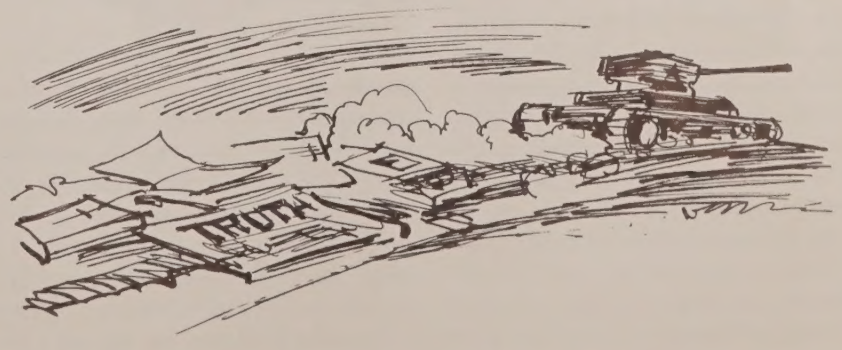

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matter, the question arises as to why this tendency—always a problem (because men are sinners!)—has recently become so common and so flagrant among whose who describe themselves as "militant and anti-communists"?

The first reason is not far to seek. There can be no doubt that world communism confronts our nation with a serious and dangerous challenge. The earliest theoretical formulation of communism is little more than a century old. Its earliest political embodiment occurred just over 40 years ago. Yet one-third of the world's population is now under communist domination. Its leaders are aggressively confident of eventual triumph everywhere.

There may be grounds for hope that the greatest victories for the movement are in the past. However, this hope can readily be called in question—and there certainly is no room for complacency! Government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" has met difficult crises before, but never a challenge quite like this.

Extremists damage effort

The second reason follows closely from the first. The problem is so large and complex, that it has no easy solution. Alternative, and in part mutually exclusive, prescriptions are offered, but tend to cancel each other out so that there is danger that nothing effective will be done. In a mood of fearstricken frustration persons easily strike out wildly at those with whom they disagree—especially if someone is at hand seeking to sow the seeds of suspicion.

The net result is that the chief effect of "militant anti-communism" is to hamper and damage the efforts of "constructive anti-communism." Many persons seek to give more lively exercise to American free institutions and relate Americans to the rest of the world in such a way to roll back the communist advance by helping to guide and control the revolutionary ferment of the times. But they find themselves beset on both left and right.

What can Christians do in this situation? First of all, they can recognize that the one way to maintain a free society is to *maintain it!* This never has been easy. "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." The temptation to suppress those who have ceased to believe in liberty—whether on the left or on the right—is great. But it must be resisted. The laws should be properly enforced against them. But their rights under the Constitution must be protected. At the same time, patient persuasion should be exercised to the full to bring within the community of believers in freedom as many as possible of those who have lost faith or become heedless.

Secondly, resources must be marshalled as never before to meet national responsibilities. To do this people must learn the need to devoting a rising proportion of resources to a public sector. Then they must use those resources more effectively than in the past.

Thirdly, Americans must relate to the peoples of the emerging and developing nations in a new way. The Peace Corps—for all the serious administrative difficulties it presents—is an important symbol pointing in the right direction. The new approach to foreign aid is also hopeful. The United States must shake off the imperialist label, however unfairly it may have been applied. To work with other nations, helping them to develop in freedom, not dominating them even in disapproval of some of their moves, and yet applying pressures for reform: this is quite an order!

For the Christian, the truth found in Christ alone can bring real freedom. This entails love for every man—not sentimental attachment, but active, seeking, self-giving concern. There is inexhaustible political meaning here!

(continued from page 2)

Duties and rights

Freedom calls for reciprocal duty with privilege, for recognition of responsibilities with rights. It also involves all of us in finding and implementing God's truth in all human relationships. Christians have no right to identify with movements that threaten the perpetuity of freedom.

No license warrants our use of the instruments of liberty to effect illiberal ends. Every member has a right and obligation to be critical of the church, or its leaders or literature, whenever there is valid evidence of error or wrong direction. But we owe it to ourselves and "the Body of Christ" to look beyond protest to performance. We also have the responsibility to offer and make available better solutions than old practices provide.

Our reforms will work better within the framework of faith in the church and loyalty to the state than through alliances with secular movements that have an axe to grind. But it is through sincere and informed expression of our faith that infectious fears can be allayed. As Dr. Merriman Cunninggim so well says in *Freedom's Holy Light* (Harper, 1955), "Freedom does not condone methods of unfreedom; it says, 'Expose' not 'Expunge.'"

So we are actually helped in our

thinking and serving by those who care enough to share their witness and work to protect and enhance every value and voice within our institutions that give promise of triumph for Christian righteousness. To this end we welcome and publish criticism, because it reveals the kind of interest God can use for our common good.

The right wing extremists

by John Swomley
Professor, Social Ethics and Philosophy
National Methodist Theological Seminary

A few years ago the word "communist" had a precise meaning. It referred to members of the Communist Party or at least to avowed proponents of communism. But today the word "communist" is often a convenient label with which to damn any individuals or groups who are not ultra-conservative in religion or politics.

A group of fundamentalists who believe that the King James Bible is the only "inspired" translation have attacked the Revised Standard Version by the device of claiming that a number of its translators were involved in communist fronts.

A group of wealthy industrialists who are opposed to the United Nations, to foreign aid, to the income tax, to veterans' hospitals, and to democracy itself, have begun labelling leading supporters of these ideas as pro-communist or as doing the work of communists. Because Chief Justice Earl Warren has become a symbol of defense of democratic rights in Supreme Court decisions, a campaign has been launched to impeach him.

Still another group does not like the concern for peace or social justice on the part of some of America's leading clergymen, and has sought to silence or discredit them by the use of pro-communist labels.

John Birch Society

Probably the most widely publicized of these groups is the John Birch Society. The Society is named for John Birch, a fundamentalist Baptist missionary to China who served as an Army Air Force intelligence agent during World War II.

According to Birch's wartime comrades and General Albert C. Wedemeyer, Birch's death at the hands of Chinese communists was provoked by his arrogant behavior toward a communist patrol. The Birch Society, however, looks upon Birch as a martyr, the first casualty in the cold war, and claims that the Pentagon tried to suppress the facts.

The founder, and leader of the Birch Society, is Robert Welch, Jr., a former member of the Board of the National Association of Manufacturers who attended the University of North Carolina, Harvard, and the U.S. Naval Academy. He not only opposes democracy, calling it a "deceptive phrase," and a "fraud," but he operates as the iron ruler of the society.

According to its *Blue Book*, the society operates under complete control from the top. Welch, who wrote the *Blue Book*, indicates that those who become John Birch Society members will do so chiefly because they believe in him and are willing to accept his leadership.

The Birch Society not only uses a totalitarian structure, it also follows a pattern of secret cells and public fronts. This "is deliberate," according to one newspaper reporter, who quotes Welch as saying, "We must fight fire with fire." (*Kansas City Star*, April 11, 1961). According to the *Blue Book*, the society is set up on the basis of cells with 10 to 20 persons in each. Each cell or chapter leader is appointed by Welch.

The dues are at least $24 a year for men and $12 for women. Welch's goal of a million members, if divided equally between men and women, would provide Welch with $18 million a year. Actually many of his members contribute much more than the minimum. But Welch refuses either to publish or otherwise tell Birch members the number of members or the total of what he receives. He says he confides this information to a small council appointed by himself.

A United Press International correspondent reported in early 1961 that there are 28 full-time employees at headquarters, 35 paid field workers in various parts of the country, and an additional 100 persons working as volunteers.

Communist conspiracies

Welch appeals particularly to some wealthy people who would profit by the abandonment of free labor unions and the income tax. Welch sees the power of communism and neutralism in the world as partly a result of a communist conspiracy in the Roosevelt-Truman administrations and has even implied that former President Eisenhower and his

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brother Milton were involved with communists.

Welch in his *Blue Book* indicates his approval of devout Roman Catholics, Jews, and fundamentalist Protestants, and seeks to unite them against the one religious group which he feels are not true believers, the non-fundamentalist Protestants.

These major Protestant bodies, he says, are led by ministers who are not true to their faith but have become converted to a "social gospel" which leads them to advocate a welfare state. Some, he asserts, are atheists who thank God publicly as a disguise for preaching communism. Welch has thus far received support from all the elements he has sought to unite.

Potentially dangerous

The Birchers are not to be dismissed either as insignificant or ridiculous. They are potentially as dangerous as Hitler's Nazi movement before it took power. There is even in the *Blue Book* an implied military threat if the Birch program is not accepted. Welch indicates that if the Birchers fail to reverse the surrender of America to communism there will be an ultimate reversal in the form of military action.

Their political action program includes the widespread circulation of ultra-conservative books and periodicals in reading rooms, in doctors' offices and barber shops. They have a program of pressure on radio and TV stations to increase the use and widen the audiences of Clarence Manion, a Birch Council member, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and other commentators of similar viewpoint.

The Birch program calls for the organization of "fronts." Among the fronts suggested are a front to urge impeachment of Chief Justice Warren, a group to investigate communist activity in Vassar College, and another to oppose hoodlumism in labor unions.

Points six and seven in the Birch action program illustrate their methods for discrediting opponents and becoming a political force in American life.

Point six suggests that a magazine under Birch Society influence be used to shock the American people with dramatic exposures of prominent people such as the head of a large university.

Even though Welch admits it would probably be impossible to prove these leaders ever were communists, he believes the proper selection of material and a skillfully posed series of questions would accomplish the same purpose by implication that proof would if it were available. He admits this is a dirty technique but justifies it on the ground that those he is after can't be gotten in any usual way.

Point seven suggests a method for silencing persons (including anti-communists) who are opposed to extreme rightists. This method would be one of sending three people to the public meetings of these spokesmen. The three would sit separately and appear to have no relation to each other. In the question period each would ask discrediting questions such as whether the speaker hadn't been seen distributing anti-semitic literature.

Time for March 10, 1961, told of Birch members who spy on classroom lectures, of phone campaigns against teachers and principals, of a contribution withdrawn from the University of Wichita because a businessman feared his business would be wrecked if he gave money to a school whose professors and books were suspect. Birch "Society members in Nashville, Tenn., started telephone campaigns to warn homeowners that some of their neighbors were suspected Reds."

On the national level, the Birchers have organized "Operation Textbook" which Dr. George K. Lewis of the University of Wichita has described as "a group dedicated to ridding our school system of all textbooks which treat sympathetically such issues as the progressive income tax, social security legislation, unemployment compensation, the Tennessee Valley Authority project, the United Nations, and labor's attempt to gain the right of collective bargaining.

"They are calling on high school teachers to explain why they assign certain books as reading material. They have a black list of teachers, professors, and ministers who are, they say, doing the work of the communists."

So far the only answers to the John Birch Society have been public exposure, a lawsuit by a Methodist minister, a public challenge by a Methodist bishop, and ridicule. Two disc jockeys have quipped about starting a John Burp Society with Robert Belch as the boss. But in spite of these attacks, Welch asserts that they have lost one-half of one per cent of their members and are gaining new ones at a rapid rate every day.

Circuit Riders, Inc.

A second right wing group is the Circuit Riders, Inc. This group at-

tacks Protestant Ministers of various denominations in booklets attempting to connect clergymen with communist fronts. Among them are "1,411 Protestant Episcopal rectors," "614 Presbyterian Church USA clergymen," and "2,109 Methodist Ministers."

The Circuit Riders also published an attack on the National Council of Churches entitled *Recognize Red China?* Like the other publications, it is basically an attempt to discredit clergymen by the device of listing after their names organizations or statements they are reported to have supported. A typical Circuit Riders' listing is one of individuals who signed a petition for clemency for the Rosenbergs. Nowhere does the booklet reveal that the petition, sponsored and signed entirely by anti-communists, specifically condemned the ruthless treatment of enemies of the state in communist countries and asked in contrast "a striking demonstration that the spirit and behavior of the democratic people can be more objective, restrained and humane." On its merits those who believed in capital punishment might oppose such a petition, but to list signers of such a petition as pro-communist is to bear false witness.

M. G. Lowman, its head, goes around the country attacking individual clergymen. Speaking to the Sertoma Club in Kansas City in March, 1961, Lowman attacked Dr. Stanley I. Stuber, secretary of the Greater Kansas City Council of Churches and opponent of communism.

The public attacks on Dr. Stuber by local "anti-communist" fundamentalists began in November, 1959, when he became chairman of an Interfaith Committee for Civic Action that was active in exposing corruption in city government. Lowman on several occasions repeated his attacks and was given front page publicity by a paper supporting the factions being investigated by the Interfaith Committee.

Lowman leveled charges at 9,000 clergymen and 6,000 college, university and theological seminary educators. He added: "Many in Kansas City seem to have been impressed with the allegation that I had cleared the record of Stanley I. Stuber as contained in *Recognize Red China.* I cannot and have never attempted to clear the record of Stanley I. Stuber." (*Kansas City News Press,* March 17, 1961).

Christian Crusade

Another extremist group called "Christian Crusade" is headed by a self-styled evangelist, Billy James Hargis of Tulsa, Okla. Hargis claims he is an ordained clergyman and says he received an A.B. and Bachelor of Theology degree from Burton College and Seminary, Colorado Springs, Colo. This institution is not listed in the comprehensive Directory of Higher Education published by the U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Nor does it appear in the list of American Universities and Colleges published by the American Council on Education.

Hargis also attacked Dr. Stanley Stuber in an address in Kansas City and received full coverage from the same newspaper that featured the other attacks. Hargis was quoted as saying: "Every patriotic organization in the country would have a stake in exposing this dangerous man who is apparently soft on communist causes." (*Kansas City News Press,* July 29, 1960).

Hargis broadcasts both daily and weekly radio programs over a number of stations, publishes a 20-page magazine with a circulation of over 90,000, writes a series of columns entitled "For and Against" which he says "a selected list of newspapers" publish, and also circulates a *Weekly Crusader.*

The April 7, 1961, *Weekly Crusader* carried a defense of Spanish dictator Franco. He also asserts that "the fellow traveling, crypto-communist 'liberal'" engages in a "smear campaign against dictators and undemocratic regimes' selecting Franco of Spain and Trujillo of the Dominican Republic."

The paper then asserts that "one of the repeated, intermittent smear attempts is in the field of religious tolerance." There is an assertion that Jews are well treated in Spain. The same issue attacks the National Council of Churches.

In his book *Communist America . . . Must it Be?* Hargis blames the present American race relations crisis on the communists, asserts that liberals are changing the American school system into a communist system, that the Supreme Court is strengthening the communist conspiracy, that the United Nations is cursed by God, and that leaders of the National Council of Churches cooperate with communist agents from iron curtain countries.

Such right-wing extremists as the Birch Society, the Circuit Riders, and the Christian Crusade not only divide the nation internally but discredit it internationally. They bear false witness against their fellow Christians and weaken the church, already a target of totalitarian groups in many lands. Could any group of left-wing extremists hope for more?

What can Christians do?

by A. Dudley Ward

What can Christians do as they face communism on the one hand and the many anti-communist extremist groups on the other? The answer to this question has two parts: 1) the action that each individual Christian takes, and 2) the action of the individual working with others.

An individual Christian must first decide for himself how he would answer such questions as:

1) What do I believe about the relationship of the Christian faith to social issues?

2) What is the Christian meaning of freedom?

3) What is the meaning of freedom in the United States?

4) What are the basic needs of people and how are they being met by democracy, capitalism, communism, and socialism?

5) What is communism? What are its foundations? How does it work? What is the source of its strength and appeal in the world today?

6) How does my Christian responsibility as a citizen relate to confronting communism internally and externally?

7) Am I willing to commit myself to undertake the study and activity necessary to become informed and to work intelligently to develop constructive alternatives to communism in the world?

8) How has communism expressed itself in the United States? What is the nature of the anti-communism movement in the United States?

9) What are the political forces which are at work in the world with which the Christian needs to be acquainted?

10) Does the Christian faith and the Church offer positive alternatives which can meet the communism problem in the United States and the world?

11) What circumstances have given rise to the charges made against leadership in the Christian church that many of them are soft on communism or actually "fellow travelers?"

12) What is the philosophy and the method of organizations such as the John Birch Society and the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade?

13) Should the Christian become aligned with such movements? Are there other alternatives open to him?

Consult resources

A Christian will need adequate resources to help to answer these questions. Resources are available through the Board of Christian Social Concerns, other church organizations, and some non-church groups. For example, one of the latest and best helps to understanding communism and the facts and figures about it is *The Profile of Communism,* a fact-by-fact primer prepared by the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith.

This book answers such questions as: What is the communist program? What is the communist movement? What are the communist tactics? What are the communist techniques?

An entire section deals with the communist rule in the Soviet empire, the totalitarian nature of the Soviet world, the economy and labor in the Soviet world. Another section is on Communist China.

Other resource books include *Christianity and Communism Today,* by John C. Bennett; *Christianity and Communism,* edited by Merrimon Cuninggim and published by the Southern Methodist University Press; and *A Vital Encounter—Christianity and Communism,* By Dr. F. Ernest Johnson in cooperation with a four-year study project of the Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs, to be published within the next few months.

Another series of books helpful at this point is "Communism in American Life," edited by Clinton Rossiter. Those published to date are:

The Roots of American Communism by Theodore Draper, *Communists and the Schools* by Robert W. Iverson, *Decline of American Communism* by David A. Shannon, *American Communism and Soviet Power* by Theodore Draper, *Marxism: The View from America* by

Clinton Rossiter, and *Communism and the Churches* by Ralph Lord Roy.

In addition to books dealing directly with the problems presented by communism, Christians will find it necessary to dig deeply into books which explain the Christian meaning of freedom.

This reading might include *Methodism and Society in Theological Perspective* by S. Paul Schilling or *Christian Ethics* by Georgia Harkness.

Christians also might read the materials from right wing groups that have developed materials dealing with communism in this nation. Keeping informed on the literature that comes from these groups will help Christians intelligently understand them and recognize their limitations in the perspective of the Christian faith.

Working with others

In addition to answering the questions for himself and coming to a point of personal decision and understanding through a study of the resources, a Christian must ask, "What can I do with others?"

Within the church, the Commission on Christian Social Concerns, with representative members from other organizations of the church, is one of the best places to begin this working together.

The questions directed to the individual Christian can be used for group discussion and study topics. Through study and interaction the group can come to a point where it is prepared for action.

The Commission on Christian Social Concerns can plan their programs in cooperation with other organizations of the church such as the commissions on missions and education or the official board so that these groups might bring to their membership some of the vital factors involved in the current encounter with radical positions.

Projects which might be used include: A presentation of a church-wide program dealing with the questions raised in this article; establishing relationships with other churches and groups to share information and to develop action projects.

Such undertakings will mean that someone will have to determine what organizational resources are available for cooperative effort in the community. These organizations should meet standards which are consistent with the Christian faith. This activity could eventually involve state and national programs.

Citizenship responsibility

What is the responsibility of a Christian citizen concerning this over-all problem of meeting the radical elements in society?

The Christian should be the best informed, the most dedicated and the most active *citizen* within the community. This is fundamental to the Christian faith.

To study the role of the Christian in political life, a person might turn to *The Protestant in Politics* by William Lee Miller, *Foundations of a Responsible Society* by Walter G. Muelder, the relevant chapters in *The Social Creed* by the author of this article, and *Under Orders* by Roswell P. Barnes, which is the basic text for the study program of Christian Social Relations of the Woman's Division for the next year.

Exercising Christian citizenship responsibilities means participation in political processes, involvement in community improvement programs, and trust in free expression and the democratic processes.

It means Christian identity with those movements in other churches and in society which are working constructively toward the improvement of relationships among people.

In summary

1) There is a need for commitment on the part of the Christian and the groups through which he works to apply the Christian faith in the social, political, and economic areas of life.

2) The position of the gospel, the churches, and the American heritage must be understood and proclaimed in the matter of freedom with due recognition of the responsibilities involved.

3) The Christian and church groups should spend enough time to become knowledgeable of community situations of tension involving radical movements and prepare for constructive action through the local Church Commission on Christian Social Concerns and other churches and agencies in the community which have similar aims.

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about. Men want to be free. The situation was made for us to lead.

Now we cannot stand another siege of McCarthyism. As I have traveled about the world during these past years, I have seen the inestimable harm that movement has done us. In place after place, we lost ground we cannot regain because our friends were horrified by what we were becoming. At home we will never know what the baseless accusations and suspicions did to our leadership and unity. For this kind of movement destroys a responsible conservatism and simply drives men into unthinking positions. I believe we need a strong, responsible, skeptical conservative movement in this country. But the kind of movement that calls everybody communist with whom it disagrees, must be repudiated as a communist infiltration.

We dare commit ourselves to freedom. This demands personal responsibility. Are we up to it and will we bear it?

. . . at your service

BOOKS

Christianity and Communism, an inquiry into relationships; edited by Merrimon Cuninggim, Dean of Perkins School of Theology, Southern Methodist University; order from Service Department, 100 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.; $4.00 per copy.

This is a valuable and penetrating analysis of the inter-relationship between two thought systems of the modern world. As a means to understanding the relationship, this is a very useful book.

The American Right Wing, A Report to the Fund for the Republic, Inc., by Ralph E. Ellsworth and Sarah M. Harris, published as Number 59 of *Occasional Papers* for November, 1960, by the University of Illinois Library School, Urbana, Ill., 50 pages, $1.

This study is a good summary for those who are interested in an overall perspective of the right wing movement in the United States in the last few years.

For Truth and Freedom, a *Christian Century* reprint, the Christian Century Foundation, 407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago 5, Ill.; 10 copies, $1; 100 copies, $7; 500 copies $27.50; 1,000 copies, $50.

This reprint contains editorials on "Operation Abolition," The John Birch Society, the House Un-American Activities Committee, Communists and Churchmen, and an article "Let's Look at the Facts" by Robert W. Moon on "Operation Abolition."

Operation Abolition, Some Facts and Some Comments, by the Office of Publication and Distribution, National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y., 50 cents.

Appearing recently on television's "Meet the Press" program, Robert Welch, founder of the John Birch Society, listed as one of that organization's major accomplishments the showing of the film "Operation Abolition" throughout the country.

This booklet by the National Council is a presentation of some of the facts about that film and a compilation of comments made by responsible newspapers, journals, journalists, and eyewitnesses.

The Methodist Ministry and Communism, The Truth Behind the Charges, by Philip Wogaman; obtain from the Service Department, 100 Maryland Ave., N. E., Washington 2, D. C.; 1-10 copies, 75 cents each; 11-100 copies, 50 cents each; over 100 copies, 40 cents each.

The furor created by the unfounded charges against the National Council of Churches, the constituent communions, and distinguished Christian leaders of the United States was given impetus by the equally distasteful charges by an organization of Methodists called the Circuit Riders. The Wogaman booklet contains a systematic study of one of the Circuit Riders booklets, "A Compilation of Public Records of 2109 Methodist Ministers."

AUDIO VISUALS

The Sound of a Stone, produced by Centron Corp., Lawrence, Kan., for the Division of Human Relations and Economic Affairs; 16 mm black and white or color sound film; 28 minutes; Rental, black and white, $6.00, color, $10.50 from the Methodist Publishing House. Purchase, black and white, $120, color, $210 from Board of Christian Social Concerns.

This film graphically illustrates a danger that stems from the rumor and smear techniques of the various right wing groups in this country.

Like the ripples that spread from a stone thrown into water, the waves of rumor and innuendo spread to damage the reputation of an innocent person.

The startling climax of the film points up the difficulty if not impossibility of erasing the havoc which the false charges began.

Animal Farm, a feature length cartoon film released by Louis de Rochemont Associates; 75 minutes; Rental, black and white, $35, color, $50; lease, black and white, $300; color, $450. Rent from Contemporary Films, Inc., 267 W. 25th St., New York 1, N. Y., or 614 Davis St., Evanston, Ill.

"All Animals Are Equal But Some Animals Are More Equal Than Others," is the theme of George Orwell's famous fable. The story deals with the revolt of Farmer Jones' domesticated animals against their cruel master. Once the animals have seized power, they are taken over by the pigs, the shrewdest of the bunch.

QUESTION 7

Those who have never had to make up their minds as to what they believe, especially in the face of personal dangers, will find themselves brought up short in the new film, *Question Seven.*

Here is the turmoil of an East German pastor trying both to provide a witness to his faith and to assure his congregation the maximum of the church's services permissible under a communist regime trying to stifle worship. The same conflict occurs in his close relationship with his teenage son.

It is not until the boy sees how each step yielded is used by the communist regime that he is able to face the decision as to what is important in life and to answer Question Seven on the youth questionnaire: "What have been the predominant influences on my social development?" His decision in turn bulwarks his father's expression.

The expressions of tyranny are far from exaggerated. Those who have experienced dictatorships say the episodes concerning pressures in school, on the church, and in other situations have been tempered to make them believable. But they are no less frightening in the film.

Produced for Lutheran Film Associates, the film is being shown in commercial theaters.

LETTERS

We solicit comments, criticisms and commendations for these columns. We will print, as space allows, portions of all those letters which are significant and signed. Address correspondence to Letters, **Concern**, The Methodist Building, 100 Maryland Avenue Northeast, Washington 2, D. C.

Political encroachment noted

Gentlemen:

By calling our Methodist clergymen to Washington for a Convocation April 24-28 it is now visible to all that your General Board has invaded every matter of state of importance, has turned our Church into a political body, and has, in my opinion, gone beyond the mandate of the *Discipline*. The March 1 *Concern* clearly specifies that the Convocation had for its purposes political and social action with opportunities for delegates "to talk with Congressmen and government personnel regarding specific issues."

What were these issues? According to the October 15, 1960 *Concern*, they included American foreign policy, UN questions, disarmament, space control, foreign aid, tariffs and trade, immigration and naturalization, military policy, labor-management, agriculture, unemployment, housing, and other clear matters of state.

Why is the General Board mixing our Church into military policy, foreign policy, space control and so forth? Should it pressure our government officials into taking stands that do not represent lay opinion by saying it represents the position of The Methodist Church?

This is not representative democracy in action. The laity by and large had no vote on the delegates nor the agenda. If any Methodist wants to get into politics let him run for public office, but not go to Washington as a lobbyist on a myriad of state matters purporting to represent our Church. This is subterfuge and is creating serious disunity.

W. Howard Hoffman
Slaton, Tex.

Birch Society defends nation

Dear Editor:

Mr. Will's attack on the John Birch Society in the April 1 *Concern* is in general agreement with the so-called left-wing, liberal press. Sparked by the communist publication, *People's World*, many of these news services followed the signal to attack, even to reporting the same errors and much the same wording.

Mr. Will uses typical communist jargon such as "neo-fascist" to describe this organization of dedicated Americans who are alarmed not only at the continuing world-wide success of communist enslavement, but its deep penetration into every phase of American life. That the U. S. and world trend toward more and more socialistic medicine for public ills is the build-up for communist take-over is clear to any student of the Marx-Lenin conspiracy.

The only so-called "semi-secret" aspect of the John Birch Society that Mr. Will can refer to is the policy of the society to not make public the names of members without their permission. This is because anyone who actively and effectively fights communism, usually finds himself under attack. If one method doesn't work, another will be tried. But of all the John Birch members I have met, I do not know one who is using this protection.

To seek the truth is considered by religious leaders as of utmost importance in man's quest for eternal guidance. The numberless religions and divisions of religious concepts bear witness to the difficulty of the task. Religious people of all faiths who are joining the John Birch Society in greatly increasing numbers come first seeking the truth and understanding of this monstrous, satanic force that is relentlessly sweeping over the face of the earth.

Armed with knowledge and understanding, John Birch members as informed U. S. citizens are a threat to those who would further the communist cause. They are a rugged bulwark for the survival of religion and the concepts of our republic which they are dedicated to defend at all cost. May all people of good will be united in the common effort.

A. E. Doane
Stamford, Conn.

Pride in *Concern's* leadership

Dear Sir:

In answer to Mr. Yancy's letter in the May 1 *Concern*, may I say that I am proud of *Concern* and the leadership it provides. In rebuttal to the details he itemized:

If we are to have understanding in world affairs, surely we must be aware of the enemy's point of view.

Mr. Yancy and others who agree with him must learn that: 1) it is neither intelligent nor practical to label "communistic" all precepts with which they disagree; 2) it would be neither Christian nor possible to kill off all whose ideology disagrees with ours and so we must learn to live with them; 3) an attempt to work our practical solutions to world problems does not mean endorsement of other ways of life, but admission that they exist.

In a democratic government where the leaders are obligated to represent the wishes of the governed, what is "positively sickening" is that the governed, many of them claiming to be Christian, continue to poison our public relations throughout the world with their American white supremacy attitude and label every idea with which they disagree "subversive" or "communistic."

Thinking Americans must rise to the challenge of understanding international affairs and the U. S. position.

Mrs. Marion Tucker
Albuquerque, N. M.

"Let both sides be heard"

Dear Sirs:

The letter of Mr. Yancy in the May 1 issue points up the fact that The Methodist Church is on the verge of being caught on an ideological limb that may well be sawed off. We are living today in a rising tide of conservatism in many areas of our population. It seems to me to be a mistake in judgment for our church to identify itself solely with one political or economic philosophy, for there is the implication that those who disagree are against the teachings of the church.

This is not to say, of course, that the church should abandon the continuous calling to lift up the social implications of the gospel of Christ. There are many sincere people, though, who do not agree that government legislation is the basic answer to all social problems. If we get to the point where the government provides everyone with employment and financial security, regulates all private business, and otherwise makes all decisions for us, the Christian belief of individual responsibility before God will have given way to a new collectivism.

This is basically a matter of means rather than ends. The Methodist Church would be wise to give more of a voice in its publications to those who may well be in the majority. Let both sides be heard in real discussion of issues. In this way the church can help its members to reach moral decisions without forcing them to the point of either accepting or rejecting what they consider the "official" viewpoint of the church.

The Rev. Joe Fort
First Methodist Church
Canton, Tex.

Baseless charges protested

We express concern during the past quadrennium that there have been individuals and organizations endeavoring to silence the voice of the church and the voices of the individual churchmen who strive to bring Christian ideals to bear upon controversial social, economic and political issues.

We strongly approve of the following statement from the 1960 Episcopal Address: "We register vigorous protest against viciously false statements that have been made, and are being made, concerning prominent Protestant churchmen—men of unimpeachable character, patriotism, and loyalty to Christ. These assaults are also being made upon the World Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches, and other agencies of cooperation among Protestant and Orthodox churches. It is even more regrettable that, at a time when there was never greater need to emphasize the essential unity of the Christian Church, some of these baseless charges emanate from individuals and groups who bear the name of Christ.

"We commend the officials of the Air Force for the prompt apology given to the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. for the incredible blunder of allowing some of these slanderous charges to be included in a training manual. This incident is but another indication of the subtle and alarming growth of a procedure by which an American citizen whose name has been brought into question by irresponsible, and, at times, malicious rumor, must prove himself innocent of disloyalty and subversion—and that before an agency of the government which has no judicial authority and whose methods of prosecution are devoid of the safeguards which are constitutionally guaranteed to individual citizens. This is a frightening reversal of an inalienable heritage, dear to every American. The preservation of this inherent freedom is worthy of the most dedicated and determined effort of all our citizens, churchmen and nonchurchmen alike."

We regret that any Methodists contribute either money or leadership to such organizations as Circuit Riders, Inc., which utilize the "guilt by association" and "fellow-traveler" approaches as they stir up unjustified suspicion and develop unfounded fears. We direct attention to our general rule concerning "uncharitable or unprofitable conversation, particularly speaking evil of magistrates and ministers." We call upon any organization which has charges or accusations to make against any Methodist to make them through our church courts so that a jury of peers of the accused may judge the truth or the falsity of the accusation.

—STATEMENT FROM THE 1960 GENERAL CONFERENCE